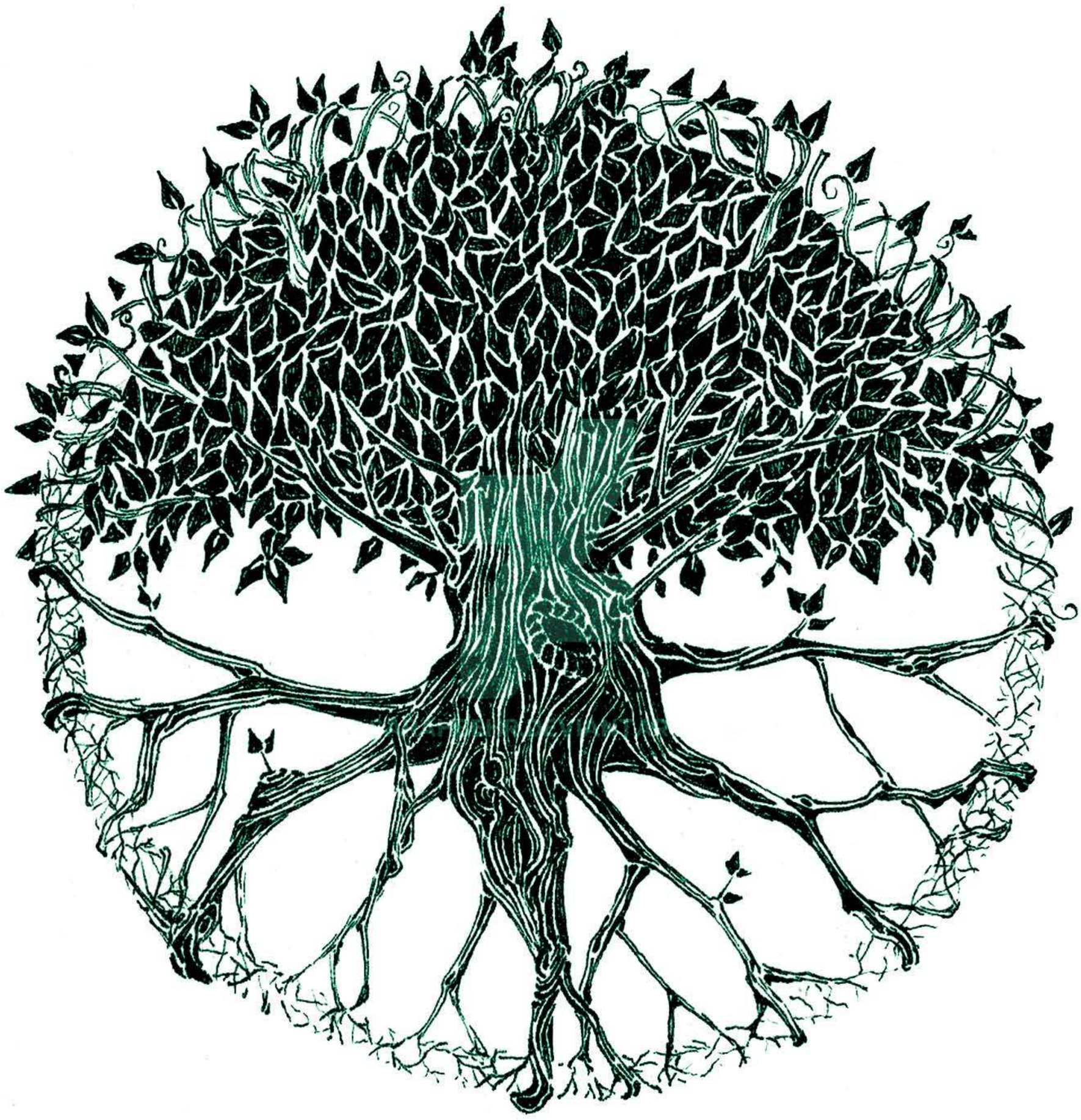
ISSN:1300-9435

SOSYAL BİLİMLER DERGİSİ

Journal of Social Sciences



SÜLEYMAN DEMİREL ÜNİVERSİTESİ
FEN EDEBİYAT FAKÜLTESİ

Süleyman Demirel University Faculty of Arts and Scienses

Makale Geliş | Received : 10.07.2023
Makale Kabul | Accepted : 21.08.2023

Hierarchical Duality in the Khazars: Historical Origins of the Dual Kingship System

Hazarlarda Hiyerarşik Düalite: İkili Krallık Sisteminin Tarihsel Kökenleri

Araştırma Makalesi – Research Article

Özgür TÜRKER
Suleyman Demirel University, History Department, ozgurturker@sdu.edu.tr
ORCID Numarası | ORCID Numbers: 0000-0002-4019-4976

İbrahim DAĞ
Suleyman Demirel University, Institute of Social Sciences, History Department, ibrahimdag.90038@gmail.com
ORCID Numarası | ORCID Numbers: 0000-0001-9046-2396

Abstract

This article aims to understand the nature of the dual kingship system observed in the Khazar Empire. Specifically, it emphasizes the hierarchical duality where the grand khan held sacred powers and remained veiled from the public, while the second ruler known as the Shad-bek held political, military, and economic authority. The study highlights that this system represents a hierarchical duality rather than a diarchy, as the Shad-bek effectively controlled the state's political, military, and economic spheres despite being second in the hierarchy. Additionally, the article intends to uncover the connections between this system and Central Asian culture as well as the influence of Judaism. By exploring these aspects, the research contributes to conceptualizing the hierarchical duality in the Khazar Empire and shedding light on its links with Central Asia and the Jewish faith.

Key Words: Khazar Empire, Dual Kingship, Hierarchical Duality, Grand Khan, Shad-Bek, Central Asia, Judaism.

Öz

Bu makale, Hazar İmparatorluğu'nda gözlemlenen ikili kağanlık sisteminin doğasını anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Özellikle, büyük kağanın kutsal yetkilere sahip olduğu ve halktan gizlendiği, Şad-bek olarak bilinen ikinci hükümdarın ise siyasi, askeri ve ekonomik otoriteye sahip olduğu hiyerarşik ikilik vurgulanmaktadır. Çalışma, Şad-bek'in hiyerarşide ikinci sırada olmasına rağmen devletin siyasi, askerî ve ekonomik alanlarını etkin bir şekilde kontrol etmesi nedeniyle bu sistemin bir diyarşiden ziyade hiyerarşik bir düaliteyi (ikiliği) temsil ettiğini vurgulamaktadır. Makale ayrıca bu sistem ile Orta Asya kültürü arasındaki bağlantıları ve Yahudiliğin etkisini ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu yönleri keşfederek araştırma, Hazar İmparatorluğu'ndaki hiyerarşik ikiliği kavramsallaştırmaya ve Orta Asya ve Yahudi inancıyla olan bağlantılarına ışık tutmaya katkıda bulunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hazar İmparatorluğu, İkili Krallık, Hiyerarşik İkilik, Büyük Kağan, Şad-Bek, Orta Asya, Yahudilik.

Introduction

This paper aims to clarify some conceptual problems related to the form of rule in the Khazar Empire. Aside from the question of the origin of this system of authority, which is often described by scholars as Khazar diarchy, dual kingdom or sacral kingdom, the question of the principle of separation of powers or the hierarchical division of authority is of great importance. The fact that the Arab geographers clearly depict the Khazar Khagan as a symbolic and ceremonial figure, and that the real administrative power belonged to a second ruler (or perhaps to a parallel dynasty) with different names such as Isha, Shad-bek or Yilig, leads us to rethink the origins and scope of this administrative structure. This point raises many questions in need of clarification. Was the Khazar two-headed administration a manifestation of the ancient Turkic tradition of statehood? Did the Turks already have the figure of a sacred king who was vested with administrative powers? Was Khazar dual rule a diarchy? Or was it a monarchical model of governance that took refuge in the shadow of the legitimacy of the sacred identity of the main Khagan? When and how did the Khazar Khagan become a ceremonial sacred figure and when did the administrative authority pass to Shad-bek? What was the connection between this model of governance and the Jewish religion? Was the Khazar hierarchical duality system shaped by a symbiotic relationship between ancient Turkic dual rule and Jewish religious practices?

1. Khazars: Dual Kingship and Ancient Turkic Traces

For more than three centuries, the Khazar Empire embodies many mysteries that come with ruling at a crossroads where different and often conflicting civilizations, religions and cultures meet. Multilingualism, multi-religiosity and multiculturalism are almost the destiny of this geography. The fact that the Khazars ruled for such a long time in this diversity shows us that they created a harmonious integrity from all the existing differences, just like a kaleidoscope. A symbiotic structure in which different peoples and cultures can live a common life in harmony with each other, and a living space in which this structure is constantly renewing itself, expanding and evolving with new additions. In Grigoryev's description:

"In the Middle Ages, an extraordinary phenomenon was known as the Khazar People. Although surrounded by wild and nomadic tribes, the Khazars had all the advantages of developed countries: an organized administration, extensive and vibrant trade, and a standing army. At a time when the greatest ineptitude, fanaticism and profound ignorance competed with each other for the dominance of Western Europe, the Khazar State was renowned for its justice and tolerance, and those persecuted for their beliefs flocked here from all sides".[1]

B. Zhivkov, referring to T. Zhumaganbetov, notes that Manichaeism, Nestorianism, Zoroastrianism, Confucianism and Buddhism coexisted among medieval Turko-Mongol ethnic groups, along with their old traditional cults. Each of these religious systems *"may become more powerful than the old gods under various circumstances, though not in principle contrary to the traditional worldview*". The flexibility of Tengrism is that the Turks did not discard the new worlds, new relationships and new religious systems they encountered, but rather organically integrated and modified them. They very quickly became part of Turkish culture.[2]

We suggest that the Khazars, which we can characterize as a cultural fusion created by diversity, formed a well-established structure on two important cultural roots. The first of these is the Central Asian Turkish state tradition, which constitutes the leaven of the Khazar state structure. This is because almost all of the titles and the titles that constitute the Khazar state organization are Turkish. Another important factor is the Judaic faith and the new rituals and practices it brought. Although it has not yet been

[1] Grigoryev, 1876, 66.
[2] Zhivkov, 2015, 19.

determined exactly when these began to be incorporated into the Khazar state worship (according to Arab authors, at the end of the eightieth century, during the reign of Caliph Harun Rashid), it can be said that they had a serious catalyzing effect.

Firstly, it would be appropriate to start with the question of how the dual kingship (or more accurately, the Khaganate) system seen in the Khazars was transmitted to this community. The Hungarian historian A. Alföldi, who has produced an important study on this subject, has focused on the issue of whether the dual monarchy system in the Turks an institutional structure with historical depth is. According to him, since the Eastern and Western Turks are both historically and institutionally connected to each other, the question of where and for what reasons this dual monarchy system first emerged is important. Alföldi lists repeated examples of this notion in the history of the Turks. *Attila-Bleda*, *İstemi-Bumin*, and even the titles of *Büyük Kun-bi* and *Küçük Kun-bi* in the Wu-suns, who were neighbors of the Turks, bear traces of the dual suzerainty system. Alföldi draws attention to the two rulers of the Uighurs, *İl-İlterer* and *Kul-erkin*, as to how this tradition was transmitted from east to west. This structure is also related to the Magyars and Khazars. The Khazars called the highest-ranking ruler *Kündüh-Kaghan* and the one ranked one rank lower than him as *Kaghan-böh* or *Shad.* This term, which was later transferred to the Hungarians, emerged with the name *Kende*. Byzantine sources mention a second king besides the Hungarian King Arpad.[3] P. Golden has expressed the possibility that the practice of dual kingship, which is also seen in various forms in Eastern European societies, although differing from the Asian type of dual kingship, may not have been carried to the West through the Khazars. In the interior of Europe, where Khazar influence was not so pronounced (or whether it was subjected to Avar incursions is not yet known), the practice of multiple kingships was well known.[4]

If we leave aside the otherworldly aspect of the Kagan (or Hakan in Mongolian), who was at the top of the hierarchy in the Turks, to be discussed later, it can be easily determined that in an environment where the earthly, that is, political aspect was in question, the administration of the state was divided among administrators with different titles. Therefore, in the ancient steppe Turkic state structure, there were some administrators responsible for the administrative affairs in the provinces, apart from the Great Khan who was located at the center of the state. However, it is difficult to say that these posts under the Great Khan were a temporary administrative mechanism. The Great Khan distributed his administrative powers among the Lesser Khans between 552-744 covering the Göktürk period. Turks sometimes administered the people through *shads* and *yabgus*. There was a tradition of electing these administrators from among the dynasty. Administrators with titles such as *Toygun*, *Irkin*, *Çor*, *Tudun* and *Ilteber* were always subordinate to and served the Great Khan. The administrators who ruled the main mass of the people were given the title *Beg*.[5]

Our point of reference in investigating how the dual kingdom system emerged in the Khazars should naturally be the Central Asian Turkic tradition. However, considering that the concept of state emerged in response to certain needs, the question of when and how the same need arose in the vast steppe where nomadic Turkic communities lived, and in such a complex world where the concept of time and space are far apart, opens the door to another problem for us as researchers. P. Golden's analysis in his study tracing the unique state structure of the Khazars can answer this question to some extent. According to him, the nature of power in the Khazar Khaganate was closely linked to the state formation of nomadic peoples and was primarily related to the problem of statehood of the steppe peoples of Western Eurasia. For in the history of the nomadic peoples of Western and Central Eurasia, a distinctive feature that played an important role in the emergence of states in the settled world was the lack of statehood in the steppes. In modern Soviet sociological and ethnographic science, the word *"state"* is understood as *"a form of political organization with a public power separate from the people, with specialized means of coercion and repression; a system of taxation with fixed and specific dimensions; the division of the population*

[3] Alföldi, 1943, 507-508.
[4] Golden, 2001, 34-36.
[5] Erkoç, 2018, 384.

not on the principle of kinship, but on the territorial principle". Such a political entity must be able to rule over its territory, impose decisions on its subjects and collect taxes. Its jurisdiction also includes several other more clearly delineated governmental functions. This society is based on an economic foundation in which surplus production and surplus products are available, which makes social stratification and differentiation possible and ensures the further existence of the state itself. A social unity previously based on kinship ties, tribal customs and traditions is now ensured by the ideology of the state, often based on an organized priestly class. The concept of "subjects" is also introduced. The Turkic nomadic tribes of Eurasia oscillated between a "primitive" stateless society and a "developed complex" society. In Central Asia, however, the situation was different. There, faced with the rich and powerful Chinese Empire, the nomadic tribes were forced to establish their own states, either for their own defense or to benefit from Chinese trade and receive tribute.[6]

Golden's thesis that state formation is transferred from East to West (from Central Asia to Eurasia) in nomadic societies is highly relevant and consistent. Therefore, we support the thesis that the dual structure of the Khazar throne is morphologically Central Asian in origin. In conclusion, the steppe state structure was a living organism and took on different forms over time. For example, D. Sinor's opinion that the multiple systems in the steppe state structure were related to the expansion of the state's borders is also important in this context:

"Moreover, as the expansion continued, further kingdoms had to be created to incorporate the newly annexed territories into the empire. It is important to emphasize that these newly created kingdoms were not necessarily part of the original dual system. For example, around 120 BC, two powerful Shyung-nu kings, known as Hun-ye and Shyu-tu, appeared on the western side of Shyung-nu (Huns) territory (in the Kansu Corridor), each with their own people and territory. Obviously, they were not affiliated to the Left or Right faction by Shan-yü. Later, during the reign of Shan-yü Hu-du-ırğ-şı- (18-46 AD), the King of the Right of Rı-cu was authorized to rule the southern, not the western, part of the Shyung-nu empire. This further demonstrates that regionalism among the Shyunğ-nu led them to expand beyond the dual structure over time. There is also evidence that the Shyung-nu dual organization expanded over the centuries. The History of the Late Han Dynasty, for example, records six additional Kings of the Left and Right, which are absent in earlier historical sources". [7]

This dual political structure among the Huns mentioned by Sinor reminds us of the traces of a diarchic (dual kingship) system. However, there are aspects of it that are in no way incompatible with the dual kingdom seen in the Khazars. The dual administration systems in the Huns and other steppe states were the result of administrative and geographical necessities. According to Alföldi, the dual administration system in the Turks had different motives than in agricultural societies. These divisions were not ordinary divisions made to meet the needs of nomads but were the result of the basic living conditions of the people forming a political union. For example, rulers would place two parts of the community on either side of a river, thus creating a social structure more amenable to control. Their geographical division was also the basis for the nomads' speed in warfare. Tribes on the right fought on the right front, while tribes on the left fought on the left front. [8]

The conquering nomadic societies of Central Asia therefore brought their culture and state traditions with them to the regions they visited. Fortunately, we have left behind the dark days when some Orientalists characterized nomadic societies as barbarians without civilization. See how Khazanov and Wink make a breach in this wall of unscientific prejudice:

"The problem of innovations in the conquest states is as important as a certain continuation of political tradition and practice. One may ask whether victorious nomads introduced new institutions in

[6] Golden, 1993, 211-213.
[7] Sinor, 2014, 190-191.
[8] Alföldi, 1943, 509.

conquered countries and what happened to these institutions in the long run. It is also important to inquire whether a fusion of nomadic institutions with the sedentary ones took place in such cases. Whatever one may think about the nomads, they had their own political culture. Their sedentary contemporaries might consider them barbarians, but they were rather sophisticated barbarians. To illustrate this, I may refer to several concepts and institutions that for many centuries have been widespread in the Eurasian steppes. There was the notion of charisma and the divine mandate to rule bestowed upon a chosen clan. There were specific models of rule (including dual kingship), imperial titles, and imperial symbolism. There was the notion of collective or joint sovereignty, according to which a state and its populace belong not to an individual ruler but to all members of a ruling clan or family as corporate property, and a corresponding appanage system. There were specific succession patterns based on different variations of the collateral or scaled rotating system and seniority within a ruling clan. With these we meet a patrimonial mode of governance which implied a redistribution of various kinds of wealth among vassals, followers, and even commoners. There were other political concepts and institutions. It seems that in their pure, pre-conquest forms these concepts did not much influence the political cultures of sedentary states. In conquest situations some f them, such as the supreme power legitimation or the notion of joint sovereignty, were simply imposed upon the conquered countries, but usually without long-lasting effect". [9]

According to Golden, the nomadic world, which emerged under its own specific conditions, tended to establish a symbiotic relationship with settled societies due to their production models. Because an economic system based solely on animal husbandry had certain inadequacies. For this reason, they were in a constant relationship through raids on urban centers or peaceful trade. For many years, the control of the Silk Road route was subject to the permission of nomadic communities. Therefore, in this atmosphere, the prosperity created by the revenues from trade, animal husbandry and conquests led to a "superstratification" among the nomadic tribes, which later turned into political unity. However, it is evident that relations with settled societies had a catalyzing effect in this process that led nomadic societies towards political unity.[10] Zhivkov sought this effect in the practical purposes of adopting a new religion. According to him, one of the reasons for the Khazar elite's adoption of the Jewish faith in the X_{th} century was a conscious attempt to unify a multilingual and multiethnic population that often adopted different cults. The conversion to a common religion is therefore considered one of the important conditions for the formation of a nation and contributes to the blurring of tribal and ethnic differences.[11]

2. Sacred King: The Throne of Splendor in the Khazar Realm

The question of the motives that shaped the dual structure of the Khazar throne is one of the many problems that we find it difficult to define about them today. Today, while it is generally believed that the Khazars were a Turkic dynastic clan, the question of how the practices and rituals at the administrative level were shaped is rather vague. Leaving this question for the time being, let us first look at the accounts of Muslim authors who provide important information about the Khazar administrative structure. This is because the most comprehensive reports on the Khazar diarchy are found in the works of Muslim geographers and travelers, who undoubtedly had a wider access to information, being interested in the exact nuances of the political and religious authority of the Khagan and the king due to the political situation in the "Abbasid Caliphate". They also had access to more information due to the greater prevalence of economic and diplomatic contacts in the Islamic world.[12]

The unidentified author of Hudud al-Alam gave the following information about the Khazar lands:

[9] Khazanov and Wink, 2001, 4-5.
[10] Golden, 1993, 213-215.
[11] Zhivkov, 2015, 17.
[12] Olsson, 2013, 496.

"Atil is a city divided in two by the river Volga. It is the capital of the Khazars and the residence of the ruler called Tarhân Khan. Tarhān Khan is one of the descendants of Ansā.[13] *He lives with his soldiers in the western half of the city, which has a city wall. In the other half of the city there are Muslims and pagans. This sultan has seven governors in his city, from seven different cults. When an important case comes up at any hour, they either consult the sultan or inform him of their decision. Salamander is a city by the sea. It is a blessed place with its markets and merchants. Hamj (Hamlîh)?, Belencer, Beyzâ, Sâvğar?, Hatluğ, Leken, Sur and Mast (Muscat?). All of these cities surrounded by strong walls belonged to the Khazars. The wealth and prosperity of the Khazar rulers came from their trade by the sea".*[14]

The X_{th} century Arab geographer al-Istakhri was more interested in the dual kingship of the Khazar throne. He emphasized the divine nature of the ruler and the administrative power of another ruler under him:

"The politics of the Khazars and the administration of their country are as follows: The greatest of them is called the Khazar khan. The khan is more powerful than the Khazar ruler. However, it is he who displaces him. If they want to displace the Khagan, they come to him, strangle him with silk, and ask him how long he wants to live until he stops breathing. He says, 'I want this many years.' If he dies before the end of that period, it is not a problem, but when he reaches the specified period, he will be killed. In their eyes, the khaganate is not suitable for anyone other than those who are known and famous among the Ahl al-Bayt. There is no mir and no forbidding for that khagan. When one enters his presence, he is honored and prostrated to him. No one other than those at the level of a melik can enter him. Those who can enter his presence may do so only for the purpose of conversation. When he enters, he bows to the ground, prostrates himself and remains in this position until he is ordered to approach. A large group emerges from among them, and this group produces its own sultan. Except for a few people, none of the Turks and the people of disbelief, with whom he was close before, can see him".[15]

Ibn Rusteh, a Persian Muslim traveler, clarified this dual rule a little more and said:

"Khazars have a ruler called Isha. The great ruler is called Hakan. The Khazars' respect for this great ruler is in words. It is Isha who manages the affairs and commands the army. The great chief of the Khazars is a Jew. The commanders and elders who follow the tendencies of Isha and the great chief are also Jews. The rest of the people follow a religion similar to that of the Turks".[16]

This dual structure, which Muslim geographers had difficulty in identifying, was expressed by many writers who visited the region. Among Masudi's notes, the following information can be found:

"There is a Hakan in the Khazar country. It is customary for the khaqan to be with the ruler and in his palace. The khan does not sit in a palace and ride a horse, nor does he appear before the ruling class and the people. His harem also sits closed in the palace with him. The khan does not give orders and prohibitions. He cannot manage anything in the affairs of the country. Nevertheless, the Khazar ruler cannot rule the state without the khaqan. However, if the Khagan is present in the government palace and in the palace in which he resides, the ruler's actions can be carried out. If there is a drought in the Khazar country, if a disaster befalls the country or if it is attacked by another nation, the ruling class and the people rise up and go to the Khazar ruler and tell him, 'This Khan and his era have brought us bad luck. Kill him or hand him over to us and we will kill him.' Sometimes the ruler would hand the Khan over to them and they would kill him. Sometimes the ruler takes it upon himself to kill him. Sometimes he takes pity on him. He defends him so that he is not killed unjustly. I don't know whether this custom is from ancient times or whether it came into existence later. The office of the khan belongs to a prominent family of theirs. I am convinced that the rulership is old among them. Only God knows the truth".[17]

[13] Novoseltsev states that *"Ensā"* or *"Ansā"* may be a corrupted pronunciation of the word *"shad"*. Therefore, according to *Hudud al-Alam*, the Khazar rulers belonged to the lineage of the Gokturk khans. See Novoseltsev, 1990, 134.
[14] Hududü'l-Alem, 2018, 122-123.
[15] İstahrî, 2019, 200-201.
[16] Şeşen, 2002, 36.
[17] Şeşen, 2002, 47.

Another geographer of Persian origin, Gardizi, describing the Khazar lands about a century later, mentioned the symbolic ruler of the Khagan at the head of the Khazars:

"Between the Pechenegs and the Khazars is a ten-day journey through deserts and forests. The Khazar country is a vast place. It rests its back on a big mountain. This mountain leads to Tbilisi. They have a great ruler named Ilshad. They call this great ruler Khazar Khagan. The Khazar Khan has no authority other than his title. It is Ilshad who manages the affairs of the country and the people. There is no one greater than Ilshad. Their greatest chief is a Jew. Ilshad is also a Jew. Those who are inclined to him among his commanders and elders are also Jews. The rest of them follow a religion similar to that of the Turkish Oghuz".[18]

All these historical records show that there was a dual rule on the Khazar throne, and the stages through which this tradition emerged are unclear. The symbolic ruler named Hakan also possessed a celestial, divine meaning, and this held a highly significant function within the tradition of the Khazar throne. Recalling that Ibn Fadlan's work, which provides the most mystical accounts of the Khazar throne, will be discussed later, we will first try to clarify this notion of a "sacred king".

The God-King connection has undoubtedly emerged in every civilization and has ensured that every being on earth is gathered under a pedestal. In this sense, faith constitutes the sum total of the principles to implement this mission. While the first example of this situation is seen in Judaism, a celestial faith, it has spread to other celestial religions. The "Noah narrative", first mentioned in the Torah and thought to be the origin of every society, is very important in this regard: *"And God blessed Noah and his sons and said to them, 'Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth. The fear of you and the terror of you will be on every beast of the earth and on every bird of the sky; with everything that creeps on the ground, and all the fish of the sea, into your hand they are given'. In this sense, Kings see themselves as the heirs on earth of the power to rule that comes from God"*. This narrative reveal that the establishment of the authority of the kingdoms, starting from the Ancient Age civilizations and forming the basis of the Medieval Age civilizations, is centered around the elements of faith. Especially the fact that people in medieval civilizations defined themselves with religious belonging rather than ethnic identity is another proof that this process was experienced at the highest levels. Those who were chosen to implement the mission of God based their power on this title.[19]

In fact, the fact that the ruler is considered to be identical with God is evident in many different cultures, but the existence of similar beliefs among the Khazars, who are considered to be a Turkish dynasty, leads us to the divine origins of the Turkish state structure. In *Kutadgu Bilig*, which contains the codes of Turkish state structure, two worlds are envisioned. One of them is the visible world, that is, the real world, and the other is the spiritual world. However, according to Turkish political philosophy, both of these are real and there are obligations to be fulfilled in both. For this reason, administrators and clergy who give life to secular and religious institutions should support and draw strength from each other. Religion and politics are therefore deeply intertwined. But at the same time, these two worlds are separate from each other, and their merger is unthinkable as it would compromise the purity of religion.[20] Therefore, the Turks actually recognized the distinction between the real world and the apparent world much earlier. Therefore, they developed a different perspective in order not to create a confusion of authority between the two worlds. According to Olsson: There were two features of the Khazar Khaganate that particularly attracted the attention of sedentary observers and occasionally caused discomfort. First, Khazaria developed a dual system of governance that deprived absolute authority of both divine authority and the traditional Turkic institution of the office of Kagan, which derived from membership of a charismatic clan. While earthly authority decreases, heavenly authority is thought to increase, and the office of the Kaghan is fully sanctified. This was most clearly manifested in the close link between the health of the Kagan and the prosperity of the state. Perceived weaknesses in the Khaganate were perceived as weaknesses in the Khan, and vice versa, in times of serious crisis, the Khan was deposed and a more divinely favored successor was able to restore good fortune to Khazaria.[21]

[18] Şeşen, 2002, 82.
[19] Kutsal Kitap, 2008, 16.
[20] Doğan, 2016, 116.
[21] Olsson, 2013, 495-496.

What Olsson was referring to was undoubtedly the understanding of "kut" as the source of divine sovereignty among the Turks. Many ancient texts associated with the Turks reveal the existence of this concept. The possession of kut elevated the khagan above other mortals. Through kut, he could interact with supernatural forces, similarly in Ancient Egypt it was what enabled pharaohs to communicate with the gods of the world. The first meanings of the word "Kut" were "life-giving principle, life force". In the Kagan ideology, the word meant "the life force that ensures success and prosperity" and eventually "heavenly happiness". In many ways, kut was in line with the Iranian "Khvarenah", which in a political context meant "heavenly gifted royal happiness". Sometimes it appeared in the form of a ray of light, as in Turkish and Mongol legends. For example, according to tribal legends, *Oghuz Khan*, the eponymous ancestor of the Oghuz tribes, was touched by the celestial ray of light, a sign of his extraordinary abilities. In Mongol legend, *Alan Gua*, the ancestor of Genghis Khan, became pregnant by the moonlight that entered his tent and came out of it in the form of a wolf. Similar legends were known to the Uighurs, *Kidans* and *Madjars*. Historical and geographical works written in the IX-XI$_{th}$ centuries based on Arab-Persian sources describe the political structure of the contemporary Khazar Khaganate. Based on these sources, P. Golden draws the following conclusions about the holder of supreme political authority: The khagan was first and foremost the holder of "kut", its embodiment and manifestation. Everything that followed flowed from it. When the loss of "heavenly gifted happiness" led to military defeats and famines, he was punished with the loss of his life. This was the reason for his sacral isolation. It served as a talisman for the prosperity of the state and the people. The monotheistic religions that spread in the territory of the Khazar Khaganate had no influence on this faith.[22]

While the transformation of the Khagan into a sacred "taboo" reduces him to a symbol, the question of the practices underlying this practice is also important. Alföldi's explanation for the jurisdictional confusion among the rulers in dual rule is also remarkable. According to him, the person who holds the title of the great Qaghan is seen as the holder of a high divine rank thanks to his supernatural creation and powers, but these characteristics prevent him from being an administrator who can respond to worldly needs. In this case, the worldly power and authority passes to the second ruler at a lower level. Especially in the Khazars, the administration developed in this way.[23]

Moreover, the problem of authority in the dual kingship structure was not unique to the Khazar throne. While the concept of "kut" in Turks does not allow for a secondary authority on earth, it is noteworthy that there are systems in different cultures in which the figure of the sanctified monarch delegates his administrative powers to his regent or equivalent. This institution, which was also observed among the Khazars, was characterized by one king ruling and the other ruling. The most striking example is the relationship between the *mikado* and the *shogun* in Japan, where the ruler, the mikado, is so deified that the taboos around him prevent him from ruling. This second king, the shogun, was originally the leader of the men's league or could simply be considered a hypostasis of the mikado, but this is doubtful. According to the hypostasis theory, the king offloads some of the magical burdens of ruling onto an alter ego, as illustrated by the example of the *Meitei*, a belief system in India.[24]

Nevertheless, among nomadic Turkic communities, a model of dual kingship based on a sacred kingship similar to that of the Khazars is very rare. Golden thinks that the Hungarian Gyula-Kende may be somewhat close to this, and it has already been suggested that the idea of his descent from the Khazars has been put forward. Golden found the closest resemblance to the Khazar divine monarch in the Iranian tradition. Here the ruler is considered to be of divine origin, or at least divinely chosen, and therefore his person is considered sacred, inviolable and unapproachable. He was the possessor of divine good fortune (xwarena) and was often depicted as having "nimbus of fire surrounding his head". The king was usually invisible to the public and lived almost invisibly, even in his palace. He possessed a power (stemming from his kinship with the sun and the moon) that could cause you to catch fire if you looked

[22] Golden, 1993, 224-225.
[23] Alföldi, 1943, 515.
[24] In *Meitei,* in mid-April, during the "chirouba" festival, a "cháhi taba", or name-giver, is chosen, and this person is named after years, like the consuls in Rome. The duty of the cháhi taba is to take on all the sins of the raja and the people. The departing chahi taba says to his successor: *"My friend, during this year I have taken upon myself and removed all evil spirits and sins from the raja and the people".* If the cháhi taba is lucky, the whole country is lucky, if he is unlucky, the whole country feels the effect. We find a similar alter ego in the ruler in the Ewe people. Here the person who protects the ruler's protective magical robe from bullets is a member of the ruler's entourage and must always be near the ruler in battle. See Róheim, 1917, 59.

directly at his face. For this reason, those who approached the Shah would cover their faces and fall to the ground saying, *"I am burning up"*.[25]

Thus, the dual institution of kingship, divided into a sacred-ritual personality whose sanctity appeals to infinite reverence and an active, executive power, was a phenomenon not limited to the Turkic world. Anthropologists have noted its existence in many variants of early societies and believe that this duality arose out of the need for tribal societies to have a pure, supreme, untainted by blood and whose existence was essential for the welfare of the homeland, a king of law and a king of war who constituted the actual executive power. The relationship between the Hakan and the Shad-bek-yilig, with all its peculiarities, fits this perfectly.[26]

3. Diarchy or Singularity: Unraveling the Mystery of Khazar Dual Kingship

Analyzing the dual structure of the Khazar throne has been a long-standing problem. One of the main points of this problematic stems from the fact that the division of authority between the two rulers does not create the impression of a "dual kingship". This is because while the main ruler, Hakan, does not have any administrative authority in terms of administrative power, Hakan-Bek, who is hierarchically lower than him, is in a position to control the administrative mechanisms of the state. However, in the dual administrative structure in the ancient Turkic tradition, the ruler at the head of both wings had administrative powers. In this respect, we cannot speak of a classical dual kingdom structure. There are strong indications that this situation implicitly points to a singular kingdom.

The two-power form of government, the division of property into right and left wings, was common to Turkic nomadic societies. This often led to the manifestation of two great rulers, each ruling one half of the state (one slightly superior in rank). One form of this dual kingship was the division of the khaganate between a ceremonial or sacred ruling Hakan and a lesser Hakan who carried out the day-to-day administration of the government and commanded the army. Over time, the sacred Hakan became a talisman for the continued good fortune of the realm. It was through him that the blessing came to the state. According to Golden, it was this second form of dual kingship that prevailed among the Khazars (and the early Hungarians who followed them in this respect).[27]

In 626, when Heraclius joined with the Khazars to form an alliance against the Persians, Ziebel, the leader of the Khazars, is said to have acted completely independently, as Theophanes notes, in his position second in rank to the Hakan (possibly as his proxy), made a treaty with Heraclius and left him troops to help him. Heraclius asked him for help against enemies and promised him the marriage of his daughter, a princess of the royal family. The daughters of Byzantine emperors were married only to rulers who were powerful and dangerous, and this posed a threat to the requester in order to prevent war or some other catastrophe if the princesses in their hands were not given. Therefore, Ziebel had to have power and authority in his homeland to be worthy of this honor, but he was only a proxy. In this case, the Hakans must not have been very effective in governing during this period and their power must have been in decline. But this was in the early VII$_{th}$ century, and the Turks were then at their highest level of glory and power.[28]

In the Khazars, ruling power was concentrated in a dual kingship. The "great king" (al-malik al-azam or al-malik al-kabir), as described in Arabic sources, bore the title of Hakan. He was a divine ruler, chosen from the dynasty, who ruled but did not rule, a living talisman whose presence was a guarantee of blessing and heavenly fortune for the country. His person was sacred and his blood could not be spilled on the ground. If he was seen to lose his celestial power, he could be killed. In return, he had the right to have his own employees killed. The Chinese sources' account of A-shih-na's accession to the throne, including ritual strangulation and shamanic ceremonies, points to their connection with the Inner Asian Turks. The de facto ruler, usually called "king" (melik) in Arabic sources, who ran the affairs of the state, was variously called *Hakan-bek*, *bek*, *shad* or *yilig*. According to Ibn Fadlan, Hakan-beg was accompanied by a *kündü kagan* (kende in Hungarian?) and a *çavuş* (?). Hakan-bek was also

[25] Golden, 2007, 187.
[26] Golden, 2005, 54.
[27] Golden, 2005, 47-48.
[28] Grigoryev, 1876, 76.

accompanied by a bodyguard from the Muslims of Khwarezm, called *Ors/Urs*, and soldiers recruited from clans or uruks.[29]

After the Khazar elites converted to Judaism, there was a need for a Jewish-Turkish symbiosis that respected the status quo, traditions and practical needs. The sanctification of the king and the dual system of government were familiar traditions for the Turks. However, the notion of dual kingship (king/priest) was also a well-known practice in ancient Israel. As Zhirkov describes it, this difficult balance between tradition and innovation was preserved in Khazaria despite the eventual imposition of Judaism as a "state" religion in the IX_{th} century, along with some patriarchal concepts and elements in power and its legitimization, resulting in the Khazar dual system of government. This was a very difficult form of integration. For it is difficult to understand how Pagan and Jewish concepts of power (which were closely related to both Christian and Muslim concepts of power) interacted and "reconciled" with each other. Zhivkov clarified the Turkish-Jewish symbiosis, which he described as a necessary union, in the words of S. Pletneva: *"a unifying factor for the entire population was the consensus of religious concepts"*.[30]

A. P. Novoseltsev made a detailed analysis to explain the duality in the Khazar state structure. The starting point for this comprehensive analysis was the debate among historians about the Khazar state structure. Novoseltsev, who also included the views of researchers such as M. I. Artamonov, S. A. Pletneva, B. N. Zakhoder, D. Dunlop, P. Golden, D. Ludwig, revealed that there was serious confusion on this issue. The focus of the debate is less on the origins of the two heads (which most agreed was an old Turkic tradition) than on the hierarchical division of authority in practice. Zakhoder, for example, offers a somewhat contradictory definition of the Khazar state structure. On the one hand, he creates a schema in which the Khazars had a natural state hierarchy, while on the other hand he accepts that Bek seized supreme power and eventually the Khazar two-headedness disappeared in the XI century. Dunlop, on the other hand, observed the Khazar two-headedness, but thought that it lost its meaning after the adoption of Judaism.[31] On the other hand, P. Golden describes the Khazar state structure as a functional title system typical for the Turks.[32] In his study, Novoseltsev analyzed the sources chronologically in order to understand how the concept of "supreme power" was shaped within the Khazar state structure. The first known title, which is thought to have been carried to Eastern Europe by the Avars (Juan-Juan), was Hakan (Khagan), albeit in various forms. This title was equivalent to the Emperor of the Chinese, their neighbors when the Turks were still in the Asian steppe. Al-Biruni interprets the title "Hakan" as the king of the Turks, Khazars and Toguz-Oguz. However, this title should not be confused with the title "Khan" from which it is thought to derive. This is because Hakan is a higher position than Khan. It can be thought of as the relationship between a great prince and an ordinary prince in Russia, or between a king and a duke, count, etc. in Western Europe. Novoseltsev makes an interesting claim at this very point. The document he puts forward as evidence for his claim is the "Khazar Correspondence" between *Joseph*, who identified himself as Khagan-Bek (or Melik) in the Khazars, and *Hasdai ibn Shaprut*, an Andalusian Jew. Joseph, who says that he is a Khazar ruler, introduces his lineage as the Khazar ruling family, but between the lines he makes us feel the presence of another ruler. Novoseltsev states that in his letter Joseph tries to cover up the Khazar past in some way and avoids telling the history of the

[29] Golden, 2002, 281-282.
[30] Zhivkov, 2015, 18-19.
[31] Although Dunlop wanted to trace the Khazars' dual kingship system back to the time of the Persian King Kavad/Kubad (488-531), he was cautious because they had not yet emerged as an independent khaganate among the Western Turks. See Golden, 2007, 163.
[32] According to P. Golden, one of the most interesting features of Khazar rule is the dual kingship that contemporary observers and current scholars often emphasize. A two-sided form of government, the division of property into two wings, right and left, was common to Turkic nomadic societies. This often led to the manifestation of two great khaganates, each ruling one half of the state (one slightly superior in rank). One form of this dual kingship was the division of the khaganate between a ceremonial or sacred ruling khagan and a lesser khagan who carried out the day-to-day administration of the government and commanded the army. Over time, the sacred khagan became a talisman for the continued good fortune of the realm. It was through him that the blessing came to the state. It was this second form of dual kingship that prevailed among the Khazars (and the early Magyars who followed them in this respect). See Golden, 2005, 47-48. In the records of Arab scholars, Golden disputes the interpretation of Artamonov and some other historians, who link the issue of the Hakan becoming an ineffective sacred symbolic figure and the transfer of all authorities in the Khaganate to the Hazar *melik* known as *îşâ* or *bek*, after the Khazar State's acceptance of Judaism, as a consequence of the transition to Judaism. Golden instead asserts that this development is rooted in the status of *ab-khagan* within the Göktürk dual kingship system. Also see Golden, 2006, 18.

Khazars before their conversion to Judaism. The point is that in the long version of Joseph's letter there is a figure of a "cap" (president), but in the abridged version of the letter he is called "ha-cap ha-gadol" (the great president). The researchers have correctly interpreted this as the only clue to the existence of a Khazar haka in Joseph's letter. In particular, the general concealment of the role of the haka and the necessarily omitted mention of its existence is the best evidence for the authenticity of Joseph's letters. Judging by the surviving texts of Josep's letters, the existence of the khagan was clearly ignored by the Khazars, while Joseph nevertheless had to admit that his Andalusian interlocutor knew about the khagan because he referred to him as the "great president". According to Novoseltsev, Joseph's account suggests that the king's ancestor, Bulan,[33] who bore the title of "shad", forced the khan to convert to Judaism, since the Khazar enemies at the time, the Arabs and the Byzantine Empire, were not followers of this religion. It is clear from Joseph's narrative that Bulan was supported by other Khazar "heads" (sarim) and together they put pressure on the khan. As a result, the initiator of the conversion to Judaism was not the khan, but another person (in Joseph's terms, the king), although at the time this action was approved by the khan.[34]

Many studies have attributed the emergence of duality on the Khazar throne to the adoption of Judaism.[35] Many historians believe that the Khazar civil war of the 9th century, the so-called "Kabar rebellion", was related to this same process. For example, M. I. Artamonov places the emergence of the dual kingship in the early IX_{th} century and sees it as the result of an internal process in the Khazar state related to the Judaization of the Khaganate. A X_{th} century Khazar ruler, "Oba-diye", mentioned in the Khazar-Hebrew War, is believed to have carried out both religious reforms that led to the full establishment of Rabbinic Judaism and a coup d'état (800 A.D.) that reduced the khagan to a ceremonial/sacred position. According to Artamonov, the dual kingship was not an old tradition preserved as in other societies, but an innovation resulting from the transition of one dynasty to another. The new ruling caste, bearing the Turkish titles *shad*, *beg* and *yilig*, the main patrons of Judaism, forced the khaganate line to accept Judaism.[36]

Klaproth put forward another hypothesis to explain the duality of the Khazar throne. According to him, the Turks, who conquered the Khazar lands in the VI_{th} century, established a new dynasty of Turkish descent, and when the power of the Turks was broken, the ruling dynasty was weakened, so that the people, out of respect for the lineage of their former conquerors, left them on the throne and handed over the real rule to the locals. Hence, rule was dualized in the hands of a symbolic ruler and a real ruler.[37]

4. Enchanting Ceremonies: The Sacred Journey of the Khazar Khan

It is a Muslim traveler who brings researchers closest to the Khazar throne. Ibn Fadlan's narrative reveals the "sacred king" figure, which other geographers have described in a cursory manner and which was probably carefully concealed by the author of the Khazar Correspondence. In addition to providing mystical information about the Khaqan, Fadlan provides a description of a repeated state ceremony

[33] *Judah Halevi* (1075-1141), in his book *"Kuzari"* (The Book of the Khazars), which idealizes the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism, describes the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism as follows: *"As far as we know from historical records, the conversion to Judaism took place about 400 years ago. A dream came to him (Bulan) in which an angelic figure said, 'Your way of thinking is certainly pleasing to the Creator, but your way is not the right way. Up to this point he had been a very devoted person to the Khazar religion, so much so that he had devoted himself to temple duties and dedication. But the angel came again and repeated: 'Your way of thinking is certainly pleasing to the Creator, but your way is not the right way'. So, he began to contemplate different faiths and religions and eventually (he) converted to Judaism along with many other Khazars".* See Pritsak, 2007, 23-24.

[34] Novoseltsev, 1990, 134-137.

[35] In his recently published study, E. Ç. Mızrak studied the hypothesis that the "Sacred Diarchy" in the Khazar Khaganate may have been influenced by the TaNaKh (Hebrew Bible) model of joint rule of *Moše/Moses* and *Aharon/Harun*. According to Mızrak, this unique dual-kingdom system must have been influenced by the relationship in which Moses played the role of both king and high priest, while Aharon served as deputy, high priest and spokesman. The paper argues that the Khazar Khaganate may have adopted this model and may have been particularly influenced by Halakha, Jewish religious law. The author supports this hypothesis by drawing similarities between the roles of Moses and Aharon and the administrative structure of the Khazar Khaganate. He also argues that the symbolic Jewish title *"Îšâ"* influenced the Khaganate's governance model. The study concludes that the Khazar Khaganate's religious commitment to Jewish concepts may have been influential in shaping the system of the Holy Diarchy. See Mızrak, 2023, 325-336.

[36] Golden, 2005, 49.

[37] Grigoryev, 1876, 73.

between him and Shad-bek. There are many suggestions that this description is taken from a Jewish epic ritual. In fact, this narrative is the main source of the view that the ruler became taboo, that he was not seen much in public, and that he was more interested in spiritual rather than secular affairs. Our main conclusion from Ibn Fadlan's epic narrative is that this ceremony actually symbolizes a transfer of power. The Hakan was transferring his secular power to Shad-bek and thereby giving himself divine legitimacy:

"The ruler of the Khazars is called Hakan. He leaves his palace only once every four months for a trip. He is called the great Hakan. His deputy is called Hakan-bek (or Shad-bek). It is Hakan-bek who commands the army, looks after the affairs of the country, keeps in touch with the people and goes to wars. The rulers around him are subject to him. Every day he appears before the Great Khan in decorum and silence and gives a briefing. When he enters, he is barefoot and holds a piece of wood in his hand. When he bows to the Great Khan, he burns this wood in front of him. After lighting it, he sits on the throne on the right side of the Great Hakan. Hakan Bey has a regent called Kündür Hakan and Kündür Hakan has a regent called Haz Çavuşu.

It is a tradition that the Great Hakan does not hold sessions for the people and does not speak to them. No one other than the aforementioned people can enter his presence. It is Hakan-bek who settles disputes, manages affairs, imposes punishments and actually governs the country. When the Great Hakan dies, a big tomb with 20 rooms is built for him. A grave is dug in each room. Stone is crushed until it turns into powder. This powder is laid on the grave. Lime is poured on the dust. A river runs over (in the text, under) the tomb. The river is a big flowing river. They build the grave under (in the text, above) this river. They say, 'let no devil, man, worm or insect harm to him'. When the burial is completed, they shoot the heads of those who buried him, so that it will not be known which of the rooms the grave is in. They call his grave Heaven. When he is buried, they say, 'He has entered Heaven'. When preparations for burial are made, the burial chambers are furnished with gilded dika (a kind of fine silk cloth).

It is customary for the Khazar Khan to have 25 women. Each of these women is the daughter of one of the surrounding rulers. He takes them willingly or by force. He also has 60 woman for odalisques. Each of them is very beautiful. Each of these free women and concubines lives in a separate palace. The palaces have domes made of sheet wood and courtyards around them to pitch tents. Each of them also has a guard. If the khan wants to mate with one of the women, he sends a man to his guard. In the blink of an eye, he brings the woman and puts her to bed. He waits in front of the door. When he finishes his work, he takes the woman by the hand and takes her to his palace. He does not delay a moment. When this ruler gets on his horse with his regiment, the other soldiers also get on their horses. On the way, there is a distance of one mile between him and the soldiers. Everyone among his subjects who sees him prostrates and does not raise his head until he passes by.

The term of kingship of Hakan is 40 years. If he passes this period even for a day, they kill him. They say, 'He has gone senile, his mind has declined'.[38]

P. Golden's observation that although the figure of the "sacred king" existed among the Turks in the past, this ritual in the Khazars was unusual is quite remarkable:

"In this respect, Türk notions of kingship were very similar to other monarchies that rested on divine right ideologies of rule. Turkish Khagans had sacral perhaps even sacerdotal qualities, but they were not sacralized. Khazar Khagans, however, were. As we have seen, the Khazar Qagan had become a tabuised personage, ritually isolated, a talisman for the good fortune of the State, responsible for order in the cosmos. As a consequence of his sacral status, he was not an active ruler. He was the 'law-king'[39] *pure and unsullied by the blood-letting that was part of real governance. The task of dealing with the daily affairs of State, was left to the 'war-king'. This form of kingship is well known in the anthropological literature. Thus, the Khazar dual kingship was fundamentally distinct from the bipartite division of governance that we see in the Türk empire with its heavenly ordained Khagans of the East*

[38] İbn Fadlan, 2021, 45-46.

[39] The Khazar people's loyalty to the Khan was so strong that if he did not want to kill someone, even one of the most senior and respected people, he would simply order the guilty to kill himself. The guilty would go home and end his own life. See Grigoryev, 1876, 69.

and West. In Khazaria, there was no division of rule into esteem and western spheres. At the end of his term, determined by the shamanic trance/ritual Strangulation noted above, the Khazar Qagan was sacrificed - without shedding his blood. He was associated with a sun cult".[40]

Conclusion

This paper has examined the origins of the dual kingship system observed in the Khazars and the differences in its implementation, revealing its roots in the ancient traditions of the Turks. However, distinct disparities in practices between these two cultures have been identified. While ancient Turks shared administrative authority in their dual governance, the Khazars exhibited a "hierarchical duality" in their system, where the king stood as a sacred figure embodying divine legitimacy, while earthly power rested with secondary rulers identified as Hakan Bek, Ishak, Melik, and the like. This variance can be explained as a synthesis of the Turkish "kut" belief and the Jewish faith adopted by Khazar elites from the 10th century onwards.

Based on the gathered data, it can be concluded that the political organization of the Khazar community, instead of a true dual system, leaned more towards a singular governance or a parallel dynastic leadership, where the primary ruler was effectively neutralized, serving as a symbolic legitimacy figure in isolation. This structure might be viewed as an effort to harmonize societal stability with religious beliefs. The equilibrium between the celestial legitimacy of the Hakan and the worldly authority held by secondary rulers seems to have been a deliberate design aimed at satisfying both the populace's religious convictions and facilitating effective political decision-making.

In summary, the Khazar dual kingship system emerged as a result of a synthesis between the ancient traditions of the Turks and the influence of Jewish beliefs embraced by Khazar elites. The system, in practice, evolved into a singular governance framework, emphasizing symbolic legitimacy. This study will hopefully help unravel the dynamics underlying governance structures in different societies, contributing to our understanding of the complexity of history and cultural interactions.

[40] Golden, 2007, 177-178.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alföldi, A. (1943). "Türklerde Çifte Krallık". *II. Türk Tarih Kurultayı Zabıtları*, İstanbul, pp. 507-519.

Doğan, N. (2016). Kutadgu Bilig'de Din ve Devlet İlişkisi: İki Dünyada da Mutlu Olmak. *Manas Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 5(2), pp. 113-131.

Erkoç, H. İ. (2018). "Eski Türk Devletlerinde Kağan ve Han Unvanları". *18. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, Ankara, pp. 379-402.

Golden, P. B. (1993). "Gosudarstvo i Gosudarstvennost' u Hazar". *Fenomen vostoçnogo despotizma: Struktura upravleniya i vlasti*, Moskva, pp. 211-223.

Golden, P. B. (2001). "The Case of Pre-Chinggisid Rus' and Georgia". *Nomads in the Sedentary World*. Edited by Anatoly M. Khazanov and Andre Wink. Curzon Press: Great Britain, pp. 24-75.

Golden, P. B. (2002). *Türk Halkları Tarihine Giriş*. Trans. Osman Karatay. Ankara: Karam Yayınları.

Golden, P. B. (2005). "Hazarlar ve Musevilik". *Hazarlar ve Musevilik*. Ed. O. Karatay. Çorum: Karam Yayınları, pp. 23-64.

Golden, P. B. (2005). "Hazarlar". *Hazarlar ve Musevilik*. Ed. O. Karatay. Çorum: Karam Yayınları, pp. 3-21.

Golden, P. B. (2006). *Hazar Çalışmaları*. Trans. E. Ç. Mızrak. İstanbul: Selenge Yayınları.

Golden, P. B. (2007). "Irano-Turcica: The Khazar Sacral Kingship Revisited". *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Akadémiai Kiadó, 60(2), pp. 161-194.

Grigoryev, V. V. (1876). "O dvoystvennosti verkhovnoy vlasti u khazarov". *Rossiya i Aziya: Sbornik issledovaniy i statey po istorii, etnografii i geografii, napisannykh V.V. Grigoryevym, orientalistom*. SPb. pp. 66-78.

Hududü'l-Alem Mine'l-Meşrik İle'l-Magrib. (2018). Trans. Abdullah Duman, Murat Ağarı. İstanbul: Ayışığı Kitapları.

İbn Fadlan. (2021). *İbn Fadlan Seyahatnamesi.* Ed. R. Şeşen. İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları.

İstahri. (2019). *Ülkelerin Yolları*. Trans. M. Ağarı. İstanbul: Ayışığı Kitapları.

Khazanov, A. M., Wink, A. (2001). "Nomads in the History of the Sedentary World". *Nomads in the Sedentary World*. Edited by Anatoly M. Khazanov and Andre Wink. Curzon Press: Great Britain, pp. 1-23.

Kutsal Kitap, Taken from the New York 2008 edition of the New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures in English, a revised version of the 1984 edition of the Yeni Dünya translation.

Mızrak, E. Ç. (2023). "The Judaic Codes of The Khazar Qaganate's Sacred-Diarchy". *Avrasya Uluslararası Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 11(34), pp. 325-336.

Novoseltsev, A. P. (1990). *Hazarskoye gosudarstvo i ego rol v istorii vostoçnoy Evropy i Kavkaza*. Otdeleniye istorii. Moskva: Nauka.

Olsson, J. T. (2013). “Coup d’etat, Coronation and Conversion: Some Reflections on the Adoption of Judaism by the Khazar Khaganate”. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 23(4), pp. 495-526.

Pritsak, O. (2007). “Hazar Hakanlığı’nın Museviliğe Geçişi”. Trans. A. T. Özcan. *Karadeniz Araştırmaları*, 13, pp. 15-34.

Róheim, G. (1917). A kazár nagyfejedelem és a turulmonda. Különlenyomat az Ethnographia. pp. 58-99.

Sinor, D. (2014). *Erken iç Asya Tarihi*. Ed. A. Gün Soysal. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Şeşen, R. (2002). *İslâm Coğrafyacılarına Göre Türkler ve Türk Ülkeleri*. Ankara: TTK Basımevi.

Zhivkov, B. (2015). *Khazaria in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*. Trans. D. Manova. (East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, 30. Edited by Florin Curta) Brill: Boston Leiden.